

**SECRET**

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THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

National Intelligence Officers

25 August 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Donald Graves  
State Department

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[Redacted]

CIA/ORPA

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[Redacted]

National Security Agency

SUBJECT : Where We Are on the Brezhnev Succession Paper

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1. While I was on leave and [Redacted] was nursing this along, it developed that we still did not have enough detail from [Redacted] to stab at describing the succession process in the abstract to satisfy what Mr. Bowie and Mr. Lehman understood to be the DCI's concern that this paper educate policy users new to the Soviet leadership.

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2. Attached is a somewhat more extensive attempt on this aspect. Part I of the paper, Will Brezhnev Last, remains as agreed by you three weeks ago. The expanded Part II is attached. Since the DCI is concerned that we not foreclose the range of succession possibilities from too prominent rigid adherence to specific successors, it seemed sensible to run part III, Implications for US Policy, directly after a discussion of the succession process in general. Succession specifics than follow in a new Part IV, Scenarios for a Brezhnev Succession. The DCI and Mr. Bowie are also concerned that Policy Implications for the US be as closely tied to specific scenarios as possible, in addition to the previous Part III on generally anticipated policy implications. Thus you will find a few additional comments along these lines.

3. With the exception of the requested new material and such re-arranging as seemed logical for flow, I have stuck to previously agreed text. Please telephone me tomorrow with your general reactions. If necessary we will meet on new portions (only) of the paper on Monday, August 29, at 1330 in Room 7-E-62.

4. I am still trying to perfect the Key Judgments. This will follow by LDX.

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Assistant to the  
National Intelligence Officer  
for USSR-EE

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31. Much obviously will depend on the manner and timing of Brezhnev's departure. If a dispute over policy toward the US were a key issue ~~xxxx~~ there might be a sudden and rather severe deterioration in bilateral relations, impacting on a range of US policy interests. At present, with Brezhnev being careful to associate himself with a standoffish and somewhat aggrieved stance toward the US, his ouster with

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